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**Power and violence in Angry
Aryan song lyrics: a racist
skinhead communication strategy
to recruit and shape a collective
identity in the White
Power Movement**

**Poder e violência nas letras das
músicas dos Angry Aryans: uma
estratégia de comunicação para
recrutamento e formação de
identidade coletiva no
Movimento da Força Branca**

**Poder y violencia en líricas de las
canciones de los Angry Aryans:
una estrategia de comunicación
para reclutamiento y formación
de identidad colectiva en el
Movimiento de la Fuerza Blanca**

ABSTRACT

A qualitative content analysis of lyrics by one of the most popular racist skinhead bands from the United States, the Angry Aryans, was conducted to assess themes used to recruit and shape a collective identity for the White Power Movement. Results indicate that lyrics portray ethnic minorities and homosexuals as inferior, subhuman and, along with non-racist skinhead whites, as oppressive and a threat to the white race. The Angry Aryans use song lyrics as a communication strategy to gripe, intimidate, and promote violence. Consequently, an ideology of violence and hate is justified through a vision of whites as victims at risk of extinction. Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT) sheds light on the shaping of a collective identity of fear and hate created through marginalization and lies.

Keywords: Strategic communications. Social movements. White power movement. Social convergence theory (SCT). Racist skinhead music. Angry Aryans. The United States.

RESUMO

Uma análise de conteúdo qualitativa das letras de uma das bandas de *skinheads* racistas mais populares dos Estados Unidos, os Angry Aryans [Arianos Bravos], avaliou as temáticas usadas para recrutar e formar uma identidade coletiva para o Movimento da Força Branca (White Power Movement). Os resultados indicam que as letras pintam as minorias étnicas e homossexuais como inferiores, subumanas e, junto com os brancos *skinheads* não racistas, opressivas e uma ameaça para a raça branca. Os Angry Aryans usam letras de músicas como uma estratégia de comunicação para se queixar, intimidar e promover a violência. Consequentemente, uma ideologia de violência e ódio é justificada por meio de uma visão dos brancos como vítimas em risco de extinção. A Teoria da Convergência Simbólica (TCS) ajuda-nos a compreender a formação de uma identidade coletiva de medo e ódio criada por meio de marginalização e mentiras.

Palavras-chave: Comunicação estratégica. Movimento social. Movimento da força branca. Teoria de convergência social (TCS). Música dos *skinheads* racistas. Angry Aryans. Estados Unidos.

RESUMEN

El análisis de contenido cualitativo de líricas de una de las bandas de *skinheads* racistas más populares de los Estados Unidos, los Angry Aryans [Arios Bravos], fue realizado para evaluar las temáticas usadas para reclutar y formar una identidad colectiva para el Movimiento de la Fuerza Blanca (White Power Movement). Los resultados indican que las líricas pintan a las minorías étnicas y a los homosexuales como inferiores y subhumanos y, junto con los *skinheads* blancos no-racistas, como opresivos y una amenaza para la raza blanca. Los Angry Aryans usan letras de músicas como una estrategia de comunicación para quejarse, intimidar y promover la violencia. Consecuentemente, una ideología de violencia y odio es justificada a través de una visión de los blancos como víctimas en peligro de extinción. La Teoría de Convergencia Simbólica (TCS) nos ayuda a entender la formación de una identidad colectiva de miedo y odio creada por medio a la marginalización y a mentiras.

Palabras clave: Comunicación estratégica. Movimiento social. Movimiento de fuerza blanca. Teoría de Convergencia Social (TCS). Música de *skinheads* racistas. Angry Aryans. Los Estados Unidos.

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Introduction

Dramatic changes along the American political and social landscape have led to a growing presence of extremist organizations such as Racist skinhead groups since 2000, according to a Southern Poverty Law Center website essay (BEIRICH, n.d.). Racist skinhead groups are made up of young white males, bound together through a culture of hatred of out-group members (BLEE, 1998; COTTER, 1999). Members of racist skinhead groups are violent and commit indiscriminate acts of brutality against minorities, homosexuals, non-racist skinhead whites, and the government. In August 2012, Wade Michael Page, a member of the racist skinhead group Hammerskins, opened fire on a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, killing six and wounding four others before shooting himself. And in May 2012, 14 members of the racist skinhead group American Front were arrested in Central Florida for hate crimes, weapons and conspiracy charges (Extremism, Anti-Defamation League, 2012).

Research indicates that extremist groups, like racist skinheads, attract whites that feel powerless to combat social change (SCHAFFER, 2002). As society corrects previous "power imbalances that have given certain categories privilege, straight, White men will feel threatened" says Blazak (2001, p. 998). Compre-

tition for resources and jobs, and perceived threats to culture and authority, can also lead to increased hostility and participation in racist organizations (MA-LOTT; CARROLL-MIRANDA, 2003). Furthermore, Arena and Arrigo (2005) suggest that fear and anger over a perceived eradication of white male power through increasing non-white immigration, greater acceptance of race-mixing and multiculturalism is also fueling their growth. Such feelings are reinforced by 2010 U.S. census numbers showing that a majority of born babies are of minority descent (MORELLO; MALLNIK, 2012).

White Power Music has become a major activity and recruiting strategy for racist organizations. In 2010, there were 23 racist music websites where music and paraphernalia could be purchased and distributed, suggests an intelligence report from The Southern Poverty Law Center (POTOK, 2011). The racist music industry, unfiltered by the mainstream media and readily available online, exposes individuals to White Power ideology and exacerbates fears of the erosion of American society (COTTER, 1999). White Power music websites have become a global business with millions of dollars in total sales of CDs, DVDs, and White Power paraphernalia. Through the extremist propaganda found online for purchase, racist skinheads have the ability to promote their message of hate among dispersed members, states Beirich (n.d.).

This study investigates song lyrics by the popular racist skinhead band Angry Aryans to assess themes used to create a collective identity of victimization, advocate for violence, and recruit whites to the Racist Skinhead Movement. This study focuses on the Angry Aryans because they are one of the most popular White Power music groups, based on album sales, avai-

lability of their music online, and their own accounts (ANGRY ARYANS, n.d.). Using symbolic convergence theory (SCT) as a guiding framework, this examination provides insight into the ways music lyrics help shape a collective identity among racist skinheads by creating a vision of victimization and oppression, and purporting violence and hate as a strategy to reach their goals.

Racist skinheads

Skinheads appeared in the late 1960s as a multicultural fusion of fashion and music, says Brown (2004). Original skinhead culture emphasized a proletarian appearance with short hair or shaved heads, jeans, and boots, as well as an appreciation for American soul and Jamaican ska music. They were modeled after the 'rude boys' of the Kingston ghettos in England, made up largely of Jamaican immigrants (BEIRICH, N.D.; BROWN, 2004; COTTER, 1999). Originating in the working-class neighborhoods of East London, skinhead culture represented a male, working-class reaction to changes in class and gender roles associated with the hippie movement, and instead portrayed a masculine and working-class look (BROWN, 2004). Skinhead music became a combination of ska, punk, and rock that was loud and aggressive (EYERMAN, 2002). The music incorporated shouted refrains and audience participation, similar to pub sing-alongs, along with the British cockney greeting of "Oi!," which became a moniker for the music (BROWN, 2004).

In the 1970s, skinheads fractured into various subcultures; some racist while others remained explicitly non-racist (BEIRICH, N.D.; FUTRELL et al., 2006; WALLACH et al., 2011). By the 1980s, some British skinheads

began identifying with extreme right-wing organizations such as the National Front during a period of increased immigration and economic downturn in the UK (COTTER, 1999). These skinheads were particularly influenced by Ian Donaldson, who Brown argues did "more than anyone else to forge connections between right-wing rock music and the skinhead scene" in Britain (BROWN, 2004, p. 164). Donaldson was the lead singer of arguably the most famous racist skinhead band of all time, Skrewdriver, considered responsible for inventing White Power rock (BEIRICH, N.D.; BROWN, 2004; COTTER, 1999). It was Donaldson who changed the musical style for racist skinheads away from Oi and ska, favored by non-racist skinheads, to a more heavy metal style of Black Sabbath and Motörhead and used lyrics embedded with racist ideology as a subversive recruiting tool (WALLACH et al., 2011). But Donaldson's personal influence on the racist skinhead movement ended when he died in an automobile accident on September 24, 1993 (COTTER, 1999).

In the mid-1980s in the United States, skinheads were recruited by extremist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, the neo-Nazi group New Order, White Aryan Resistance, known as "WAR," as well as groups such as Hammerskin Nation and Volksfront USA. While some racist skinheads joined these larger organizations, others claimed no official affiliation, making them harder for law enforcement to monitor (BECKER et al., 2001; BLAZAK, 2001).

Racist skinhead ideology

Racist skinheads believe the races are eternally different based on physical characteristics, behavior, and culture. Racist skinheads see races as hierarchi-

cally ranked with whites as the superior race and responsible for all advances in Western civilization (FERBER, 1998). Racist skinheads believe Jews, non-whites, and homosexuals are enemies of whites and intent on white racial extinction. Believing to be soldiers in an eventual race war, violence is seen as a viable political strategy and a framework for action (BLEE, 1998; OLUFOWOTE, 2006).

With an ideology infused with white superiority, some racist skinheads believe a race war in the United States is inevitable and will end with an all-white homeland (BLAZAK, 2001; BLEE, 1998; OLUFOWOTE, 2006). The racist skinhead group Volksfront states one of its goals is to establish a "whites-only" living space in the Pacific Northwest, known as the "Northwest Territorial Imperative," a term originated by Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler (VOLKSFRONT, n.d.). The goal is to create a polarization of the United States into racial tribes and allow whites to separate into their own living space (BLAZAK, 2001).

To create a white sovereign homeland, or a nation under white control, where the white race is assured of its survival, racist skinheads rally behind the slogan "RaHoWa" or Racial Holy War (ARENA; ARRIGO, 2005). RaHoWa was the battle cry of the now defunct Church of the Creator movement coined by their deceased leader, Ben Klassen. Klassen saw RaHoWa as a sacred credo and believed it summed up the goal of his movement for a race war against Jewish people and the "mud races" considered all non-whites (WCOTC, 1998).

Christian Identity theology holds only whites are the descendants of Adam and Eve and biologically descended from the ancient Israelites of the Old Tes-

tament, Jews are the offspring of Eve and Satan, and non-whites are the soulless offspring of Satan and the beasts in the Bible prior to God creating man (VOLKSFRONT, n.d.). Adherents to Christian Identity believe the second coming of Jesus Christ will occur after a great final battle between good and evil with whites fighting for good and non-whites fighting for Satan and evil.

White Power music is full of references to this final racial war, where whites will exact revenge on non-whites and race traitors for their purported plot to destroy white people and their culture (COTTER, 1999). Racist skinheads believe in the white supremacist philosophy that "the United States is manipulated by foreign Jewish interests collectively known as the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG)," and a Jewish domination and control of the United States through mass media intent on subverting white dominance and superiority (BLAZAK, 2001, p. 989; DUFFY, 2003).

Strategic Communication for Recruitment by the Racist Skinhead Movement

Racist skinheads maintain relatively small numbers, and most are involved in recruiting activities. Music sales and White Power concerts are a powerful tool for racist skinheads to recruit, project the group's power, and express group ideology (FUTRELL et al., 2006). Many racist skinhead groups, such as Hammerskins and Blood and Honour, have used concerts to recruit and spread their messages (BROWN, 2004). Hammerskins have held several White Power concerts, and beginning in 2002, Wade Michael Page, the Hammerskins member responsible for the August 2012 shooting at the Sikh temple in Wisconsin, and his band Definite Hate played at six concerts in Florida alone, beginning

with the 2002 Hammerfest held in Jacksonville, Florida, and as recently as the October 2011 Hammerfest in the Orlando area (MILLER, 2012).

Music in live concerts and on the Internet provide racist skinheads a "free space" where participants can develop "counter hegemonic ideas and oppositional identities" to those provided in the more mainstream media (POLLETA; JASPER, 2001, p. 288). These "free spaces" can be concerts and festivals, or virtual free spaces of online interactivity. In these free spaces individuals communicate their beliefs and sensibilities reinforced in a collective echo chamber of ideology (FUTRELL et al., 2006).

Angry arians & resistance records

Resistance Records was founded in Detroit, Michigan, in 1993 by George Hawthorne, also known as George Burdi. Burdi created his business to promote the fragmented hate music industry as an Internet clearinghouse for White Power Music. The direct-order Internet business allowed Resistance Records to distribute without the help of record companies, which are regulated by the Federal Communications Commission (WALLACH et al., 2011).

Resistance Records was later purchased in 1999 by the National Alliance, one of the largest neo-Nazi groups at the time, led by Dr. William Pierce. Pierce turned Resistance Records into the largest American White Power record label and one of the most powerful in the world, and in the early 2000s was selling nearly 70,000 CDs a year and generating hundreds of thousands of dollars in profits. Pierce died in 2002, and with his death both the National Alliance and Resistance Records have lost much power and influence,

but the three remain some of the most recognized names in the White Power Movement (BEIRICH, n.d.). One of the most popular bands on the Resistance site is the Angry Aryans.

The Detroit, Michigan, band Angry Aryans professes on their website to create music for "all oppressed White brothers and sisters" by "waking the kids up to the traitors in their own midst" as well as the perceived enemies of the white race (ANGRY ARYANS, 2009). Angry Aryans' albums are available for purchase on the Internet, songs can be downloaded as phone ringtones and music videos can be viewed on YouTube. On the Resistance Records website, two of their albums were among the ten top-selling albums on the site (CATALOGUE, n.d.).

Symbolic Convergence Theory and White Power Music

Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT) can be used to explain how movements share a symbolic reality and create a collective identity (OLUFOWOTE, 2006). According to SCT, social movements create and communicate stories through art and music to build a collective identity and culture (DUFFY, 2003). SCT explains how a collective identity is formed based on shared emotions, motives, and sense making of socially shared symbols (BORMAN, 1985; BORMAN et al., 2003). Through the promotion of rigid dogma, individuals come to share the beliefs of the group and embody those beliefs after prolonged exposure. Eventually they come to accept these beliefs as reality and truth. A collective identity makes sense of the environment, identifies problems, creates a credible interpretation of their reality, and offers group goals and solutions (DUFFY, 2003).

Music lyrics can encourage people to organize and engage in collective action, and provide a thematic shared identity and social meaning, as well as a sense of connectedness and camaraderie (DUFFY, 2003; FUTRELL et al., 2006; MESSNER et al., 2007). Music provides a sense of solidarity and identification for individuals who will rarely, if ever, meet face-to-face, and the ability to fuse a group with a sense of belonging and collectivity (MESSNER et al., 2007). Music's ability to create a collective identity and shared reality comes from its capacity to express thoughts and feelings, otherwise impossible through ordinary language. Through music, songs can define out-groups with negative stereotypes and scapegoating. As a universal medium, music can project a group reality and meaning, while "hate music" is used to spread intolerance, prejudice and hate for non-whites (HOLT, 2007). Research has shown White Power music plants the idea of white superiority and racial inferiority in those who listen and also influences violent future interactions with those targeted in the lyrics (DUFFY, 2003; HOLT, 2007; SCHAFER, 2002).

Previous studies have examined racist skinhead music in general as well as other forms of White Power music (BROWN, 2004). This study focuses on a popular and top-selling racist skinhead band – the Angry Aryans. With albums going back to the 1990s and re-released as recently as 2010, Angry Aryans' popularity and influence make them important to examine. To investigate how Angry Aryans lyrics help to create a collective identity for racist skinheads, this study explored the following research question (RQ): *What is the overall collective identity created through Angry Aryans song lyrics?*

Method

In this study, racist skinhead music, and specifically Angry Aryans song lyrics, are examined for their use to recruit disenfranchised whites, and to create a collective identity within the White Power Movement in the United States. Angry Aryans band lyrics were the unit of analysis in this study, based on similar research by Messner et al. (2007), who argued content analysis is the most appropriate approach to examine messages in music. Each song was coded for emergent themes defining a collective identity for the White Power Movement, attempting to recruit new members, and calling them to action.

Sample

According to the Thiazi Forum, Angry Aryans have released 12 albums, under different record labels. On Angry Aryans' 12 albums are a total of 49 songs, with some songs on multiple albums, and some albums reproduced multiple times including "Racially Motivated Violence" and "Too White for You" which were both produced three times (FORUM, 2011). Two of the albums, "Too White for You," and "Old School Hate", were top 10 selling albums on the Resistance site and the only two albums by Angry Aryans sold on the site (CATALOGUE, n.d.).

The homepage for Angry Aryans, on the Resistance Records website, provides titles and pictures of two album covers along with mp3 samples, but not the lyrics (ANGRY ARYANS, n.d.). Instead, lyrics were found on the Serbian Blood and Honour site as well as the Thiazi Forum site for the two albums sold on the Resistance site, "Too White for You" and "Old School Hate," except for the song *Can I sit Next 2 U?* on "Old School Hate." (SERBIAN BLOOD AND HONOUR, n.d.).

Two songs, *Browntown Burning Down* and *White Niger Loser* appeared on both albums. In addition, the Blood and Honour and Thiazi Forum sites included the lyrics to a third album, "Racially Motivated Violence," which was not sold on the Resistance site. "Racially Motivated Violence," rereleased in 2010, contains 16 songs, five of which could be found on "Old School Hate." An extended version of *Islam Religion of Whores* from "Racially Motivated Violence" was on "Old School Hate" and titled *Islam Religion of Whores/Bashing Queers*.

After an exhaustive Internet search, the lyrics for ten songs not on the three albums, as well as *Can I Sit Next 2 U?* on "Old School Hate," could not be found. Most of the missing songs were from early demo albums. None of the albums were purchased for this study as this would have provided profits to the Resistance site, and because the Blood and Honour and Thiazi Forum sites were used to corroborate the lyrics examined. Some songs and lyrics were found on additional sites, like *Browntown Burning Down*, and these lyrics were compared to the ones from the Thiazi Forum and Blood and Honour sites. Additionally, attempts were made to listen to music videos of Angry Aryan songs online on sites like YouTube to compare to the lyrics obtained but often proved impossible because of the poor quality live concert recordings or poor quality of audio recordings.

Analysis

In total, 39 of 49 Angry Aryans' songs were on the three albums and 38 were examined, qualitatively, in this study. Angry Aryan songs are short and repetitive with frequent choruses. Therefore, frequency with which themes occurred in individual songs was not counted. For this reason, only individual themes in a song were coded and counted. One researcher co-

ded all songs and a second researcher re-coded ten randomly selected songs. A Cohen's kappa test was conducted using 26% (n=10) of the sample to test for intercoder reliability, yielding a result of .83, demonstrating substantial agreement between the two coders (LANDIS; KOCH, 1977).

Results

Groups portrayed as oppressing whites

A total of 27 of 38 songs contained lyrics, which portrayed groups or individuals as oppressing and/or causing violence against whites (see table 1, column 2 below). This is the most common theme among all Angry Aryans songs. While there is a difference between violence and oppression, these messages are often intertwined to reflect purposeful negative actions towards whites. Blacks are mentioned most, in 13 of 38 songs where they are depicted as violent. For example, *N.A.A.C.P.* lyrics say, "There's no safety for us whites with niggers on the street. They can do no wrong when committing a crime. They'll loot what is yours, steal what is mine," and ends with an interpretation for "NAACP" as "Niggers Are Always Causing Problems."

Jewish people are the second group most often depicted as oppressing whites in eight songs. Jews however are seen as oppressing whites through a subversive media, government, drugs, or by instigating non-whites. In *Still Just a Nigger*, blacks are referred to as "A lackey for the Jew," while in *Miscegenation (Fade to Black)* the lyrics concluded white females who race-mix are "a trap set by the Jew." *Bombing of Israel* contended "The Jewish World Order becomes apparent every day," and *Committed Revolutionary* calls on whites to fight against the "Zionist occupation."

Liberals, seen as working with Jews, are the third group most frequently mentioned as oppressing whites in five songs. They are referred to in *Aryan Rage* as “race dead liberal whites,” and “liberal minded bitch who shits on her race” in *Nigger-Loving Whore*. Liberals are seen as whites that do not support the Movement nor believe in white superiority. This is evident in the depiction of white females who mixed with non-whites in four songs, whites too lazy or unwilling to join the movement in three songs, or whites who oppose racist skinheads in three songs. Other groups mentioned as oppressing whites are communists in *Slick Willie Clinton*, “mud people”, a reference used for non-white minorities, in *Mud Man* and *Let's Start a Racial War*, the media in *Long Way Home*, Asians in *Asian Invasion* with lyrics “Slowly overrun by a yellow race,” and the government in three songs such as “The government's so corrupt, poison blood it bleeds” in *Committed Revolutionary* (SKINHEAD LANGUAGE, n.d.).

Table 1 - Groups targeted for violence

	Whites Oppressed by:	Whites get violent with:	Whites are superior to:
Blacks	34.21%	28.95%	65%
Jews	21.05%	7.9%	10%
Hispanic	7.89%	5.3%	5%
Asian	7.89%	5.3%	5%
Arabs	7.89%	5.3%	5%
Liberals	13.12%		
Muslims			5%
White Women	10.52%	21.1%	
Communists	7.89%		
Government	7.89%	5.3%	
Media	7.89%		
Gays		10.5%	15%

A total of 24 songs contain lyrics promoting violence against out-group members (see Table 1, column 3). This is the second most common theme and blacks are the group most frequently targeted for violence in 11 of 38 songs. The song *White Race Awake* states: "I've had enough. It's all I'll take. I'm gonna pull the trigger. So much joy to off a stinking lousy nigger." The song *Browntown Burning Down* blames the deterioration of Detroit on blacks and the "Direct result permitting niggers to run free," and concludes, "Extreme white racial violence is what the darkies can expect to meet."

Whites are the second most targeted group for violence. White females who date or have sex with non-whites are targeted in five songs, and whites that do not support racist skinhead ideology are mentioned in three songs. This idea is implicit in the song *Race Mixing is Treason* with the lyrics, "When you see the mixers, kick 'em in the head" and in *Nigger-Loving Whore* with the lyrics, "Your affection for a nigger makes me see red. Gonna take a baseball bat, cave in your fucked up head." In *Advocation of Violence* women are referred to as "Race-traitor whore." Whites who turn their back on the Movement are threatened with: "We'll even the score with you one day," in *Snitch*.

Although Jews are the second most mentioned group for oppressing whites, they are only targeted for violence in three songs. One of the three songs, *Bombing of Israel*, contained the lyrics, "The bombing of Israel, quite delighted to see. The total destruction of Tel Aviv," *Aryan Rage* specifically targets American Jews with the lyrics, "Grab yourself a club and beat down a lousy Jew. Leave his kosher carcass bloodied, black and blue."

Homosexuals are targeted for violence more often than Jewish people, in four songs. *Bashing Queers* contains the redundant lyrics, "Bashing queers – their equal rights. Bashing queers – day and night." Meanwhile, Asians, "muds" and the government are targeted for violence equally in two songs each. In *Mud Man*, Angry Aryans' lyrics state, "Ship out the gooks, deport all the blacks. Remove these parasites from our backs," which targets Asians, blacks, and muds. *Aryan Rage* targets blacks, gays, Jews, Asians and muds with the lyrics, "Smash the queers. Smash the gooks. Pound the muds. Ship back the spooks." The government and specifically former President Bill Clinton are called out in *Slick Willie Clinton* with the lyrics, "The gallows await this despicable swine."

Inferiority of non-whites

The third most common theme, 20 of 38 songs, contains lyrics portraying non-whites as inferior (see Table 1, column 4). Blacks are the most frequently targeted in 13 songs, homosexuals in three, Jewish people in two, Asians in one, Muslims in one, and muds in one song that also talks about black people. *Asian Invasion* has the lyrics, "Hideous buck-toothed Asian Jap!" and "They're climbing your fence to eat your dog. Their skin's not white and their brain is small." In *Islam (Religion of Whores)*, Muslims are described as "A dark-skinned people from inferior strain," and the song starts with, "Your women are ugly, you really do smell. From the Middle East, a monster of hell." In the three songs about homosexuals, gays die from disease like AIDS. *Lock the Closet Door*, says, "The time will come, I hope to see the day when all you faggots finally die of AIDS!" and *Faggots Give Rainbows a Bad Name*

with the lyrics, "Society will accept you once you're in your grave!"

With 13 songs, blacks are the most frequently ridiculed group, described with racist and derogatory language for being inferior, subhuman, servants of Jewish people, on welfare, and prone to crime. In *Fro Bro*, blacks are called "A race of morons, savagely insane. A handicapped product with an underdeveloped brain." *Carjacked in Detroit* states, "Years of drug abuse has left the nigger insane. Smoking crack has reduced the evolution of his brain." In *Still just a Nigger*, blacks are called "A lackey for the Jew." *Mud Man* contains the lyrics, "Niggers with food stamps, on the welfare plan."

Social Issues

A total of 19 songs contain lyrics about social issues seen as eroding white male authority and power (see Table 2 below). The most frequently occurring issue is alcohol and substance abuse, a total of seven songs, believed to make whites weak. The negative impact of alcohol and substance abuse is most articulated in *The Enemy Within*, "Cannot think with common sense when the mind's impaired. Beer politics will get you nowhere," and later adds, "Smash the chains of substance dependency. Brains being poisoned, you need to be straight." *Joe 6 Pack* continues this theme with lyrics of "Selling nigger-dope, light up some crack. Sold out your pride for a six pack."

Race-mixing and integration is the second most common social issue in six of 38 songs (15.8%). *N.A.A.C.P.* says, "We all know that integration is a failure," and while this is the most specific example of this issue, the same concept carries over into lyrics for both white males and white females. White males

are reprimanded in *White Nigger Loser* with the lyrics, "Fucking any mud shit whore, how low have you fell?" White women however are mentioned in the other songs such as *Racially Debased* with the lyrics, "You had to be sexually explored by countless black men. You continued to abide by this horrible trend."

Homosexuality is mentioned in five songs. In *Faggots Give Rainbows a Bad Name*, the lyrics state, "Homosexuality is sponsored by the Jew," while in *Slick Willie Clinton*, Bill Clinton is referred to as "A pro-homosexual President," with an "admiration of queers." In an attack on blacks and homosexuals, *Let's Start a Racial War* ends with the lyrics, "Gay pride week and black history month? We say, let's start a racial war!"

Other examples mentioned are rightwing social issues such as welfare, anti-gun laws, and whites having abortions in one song each. Economic downturns and unemployment are mentioned in two songs as well as crime. The song *Mud Man* includes the lyrics, "And I don't have a job because I'm racist. They claim they're oppressed with a welfare check. And I'm the one who's home that's starving and hungry."

Table 2 - Recruitment lyrics

	Issues Eroding White Male Authority and Control
Substance Abuse	18.4%
Race Mixing & Integration	15.8%
Homosexuality	13.2%
Welfare	2.6%
Anti-gun Laws	2.6%
Abortion	2.6%
Unemployment	5.2%
Crime	5.2%

A total of 11 songs contain lyrics recruiting whites to join the Racist Skinhead Movement directly or as veiled references. *Aryan Rage* contained the White Power ideology of "We have to stick together, 14 words or not." White Supremacy is promoted in *White Nigger Loser* lyrics with, "White brothers stand your ground, we're one of a Kind!" and *White Minority* with "White pride. You're an American," and *Extinction is Forever* with the lyrics, "Our race must rise about and regain our destiny." *Asian Invasion* is a call to wake up from oppression with the lyrics, "Wake up whitey, your mind's in a fog," and *Advocation of Violence* with the lyrics, "You've got to carry out illegal solutions. Our only path to retribution. Every wasted day you let go by, murder rate death toll continues on the rise."

Recruitment lyrics are also more blatant and tied to racial war. *Let's Start a Racial War* contains the lyrics, "The time is now, you cannot ignore. We say, let's start a racial war" while *Committed Revolutionary* says, "A call to arms, everyone you can bare. We need a revolution, the time is near."

Racist skinhead victory

Only five songs contain lyrics depicting a belief in racist skinhead victory. Three of the examples describe victory through violence, one describes victory through racial separation, and the other claims a future victory for whites without providing a means to achieve it.

In songs about victory through violence, *North of 8 Mile* contains the lyrics, "We don't need white flight, no need to fucking run. Regain our once proud land through the sights of a gun." In *Black Plague Terror*, the lyrics insinuate the impossibility of racial separation with the lyrics, "In order for our race to live, yours has

got to die." *Self-hate Suicide* contains the lyrics, "The day of your demise, White Victory."

Racial separation is depicted as racist skinhead victory in *White Minority* with lyrics about not wanting to live with non-whites and the need to live "Within my new territory," a reference to a whites-only living space. *White Race Wake* has a non-distinct victory theme of, "One day it'll get better cuz (sic) I'm no nigger quitter. Every day we strive to secure our racial future."

Possibility of white extinction

A nihilistic belief is present in eleven songs, which articulate the idea that the movement may fail and whites may become extinct. Among the eleven songs, three suggest whites will become a numerical minority, and four focus on internal problems within the movement. The remaining three songs focus on the United States, violence caused by non-whites, and *Matter of Race* is a mournful expression of racist skinhead and white defeat to perceived enemies. Violence by non-whites is mentioned as the cause and means by which whites will become extinct in *Long Way Home* with the lyrics, "Young Aryan children, to be taken out like garbage." The despondent nature of this theme is prominently found in *Matter of Race* with the lyrics, "Depression gradually choking away my breath. Nature's finest creation, almost dead and nothing left," and later continued, "Our race is dying in vain."

Discussion

Many White Power goals and ideologies appeared in Angry Aryans lyrics. Messner et al. (2007), contend that racist extremists use music to advance the goals and objectives of the White Power Movement

by dehumanizing minorities. Brown argues that racist skinhead lyrics express both a "right-wing victim mentality" and a "masculine hero complex," found in the 19 songs about social issues of societal oppression and societal corruption (BROWN, 2004).

Angry Aryans express beliefs that whites are losing power in American society by losing jobs to minorities, through the election of minorities to elected office or white politicians favoring minorities. In essence, Angry Aryans' lyrics articulate the fear that what is good for minorities is bad for whites (DUFFY, 2003).

Music by Angry Aryans confirms movement efforts to promote a collective identity centering on an experience as both superior and oppressed. Angry Aryans' songs describe being controlled directly by a purported Jewish conspiracy and the Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG). Whites are also controlled by a loss of jobs and opportunity to minorities as well as diminished safety and stability in society encouraged by a Jewish conspiracy (COTTER, 1999).

Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT) predicts individual behavior on the basis of meaning, emotion, value, and motive for action created through a shared collective identity (BORMAN, et al., 2003). Angry Aryans' lyrics articulate a collective identity of victimization and a desire to return American society to white dominance. Notable in the findings is that songs maintain the belief of white superiority, but even more so of victimization. This fear can become a galvanizing force to encourage violent behavior without having to make specific calls to join the movement.

Based on SCT, individuals immersed in such lyrics and a vision of impending white extermination would demonstrate commitment to the movement through

public action; both extreme violence and prejudice, or at the very least a desire for racial separation. Support of this option has been demonstrated in the numerous violent acts attributed to racist skinheads in the United States since the 1980s (BEIRICH, n.d.; BLAZAK, 2001).

To achieve power, racist skinheads must convince more whites to join their movement, and convince whites dispersed across the globe to view themselves as part of this collective. But this is only possible if members see themselves as victims and superior at the same time, which is potentially achievable through articulating the fear of the extinction of the superior race. A worldwide movement was the goal of Pierce who encouraged racial, not national or religious, cohesion (WALLACH, 2011). This can also be found in Angry Aryans' music, which argues for racial solidarity but makes no mention of religion other than attacks on Judaism and Islam, seen as non-white religions.

Angry Aryans' lyrics create a collective identity for members in four distinct ways. First, the lyrics warn whites about the source of all "problems" facing white America today including crime, economic downturns, outsourcing, multiculturalism, addiction, homosexuality and a loss of purity and pride in white culture. Angry Aryans' songs blame these problems on Jewish control of the government and society, homosexuals, racial and ethnic minorities, as well as liberal whites. Second, their song lyrics state the goal of the Racist Skinhead Movement is to forge white political and social solidarity in the face of social change. Third, lyrics provide angered whites with a solution to their problem and a means to reassert their power over society. Their solution is racial separation and violence; unashamed and unabashed violence; to strike out at those causing the

"problems". Finally, Angry Aryans' lyrics project a potential victory only if whites join together, but more so depict the consequences of inaction as the extinction of the white race.

With more than twice the number of songs depicting white extinction over white victory, this message adds a sense of urgency and fear to the music as well as motivation to act. These four parts create a collective identity delineating the sources of the problems for whites, corrective attitudes and actions, and potential consequences for whites and the United States.

Conclusion & future research

Future research should examine the music lyrics of other White Power bands to assess how widespread Angry Aryans' themes of collective identity are present. Research also needs to examine White Power websites and the forums owned and operated by White Power organizations to disseminate ideology with essays, games, and graphics promoting White Power, Jewish conspiracies, purported government atrocities, black inferiority and guerilla warfare tactics (BELLO, 2008; DUFFY, 2003; LEVIN, 2002; ZHOU et al., 2005).

Additional research may broaden this study to include a cross section of bands from other countries to assess the extent to which there is a globally shared White Power collective identity of fear (WALLACH et al., 2011). Units of observation in future studies can be expanded to include online videos of live music concerts. Examinations of the effects of exposure to White Power music available online and for purchase, and not just through concerts, must continue, as exposure to racist skinhead lyrics may transform an individual's identity and provides incentives to par-

ticipate (POLLETTA; JASPER, 2001). As this study only investigated how messages in Angry Aryans' music lyrics help shape a collective identity, future research should gauge the extent music encourages whites to join racist skinhead groups. While Angry Aryans' lyrics did include recruitment lyrics, this study concluded a greater purpose of their music was to build a collective identity of oppression and fear. It should be noted, songs may have contained few recruitment lyrics as interpersonal contacts, and friends recruiting friends, has proven to have the greatest success in extremist groups recruiting (VERTIGANS, 2007).

Cotter maintains racist skinhead culture has received limited attention from social scientists because of a belief that such a culture was outdated and would die out and prove unable to subsist in a more multicultural and global world (COTTER, 1999). Racist skinheads may never achieve the strength or power to topple a government or enact a full-scale race war, but racist skinheads are opportunistic attackers and dangerous.

On the Angry Aryans' website, guitarist Pist Chris contends, "I think the future looks pretty bad, extinction is looming on the horizon," and says the reason the band made music was so that "At least when I'm dead and someone finds an AA cd in the rubble they will know we tried and were defiant to the bitter end." The Angry Aryans' website reiterates this desire of violence and fear of extinction with the statement, "We may not live to see the end of this war, but maybe, just maybe we'll start it" (ANGRY ARYANS, n.d.). The hope is that music by groups like Angry Aryans and the actions of people like Wade Michael Page do not become self-fulfilling prophecy as racist skinhead music promotes a collective identity of fear to start a Racial Holy War.

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